

28 May 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Herbert E. Meyer

SUBJECT: Estimate: "Soviet Adherence to Treaty Obligations"

1. We have never produced an estimate that takes a frontal, across-the-board look at the question of whether or not the Russians cheat. There is now a sufficient record to warrant such an estimate.

2. We could begin by simply listing the various treaties the US and Soviet Union have signed, either alone or with other countries. A separate list could comprise bilateral Soviet treaties not involving the US--e.g., with Egypt and Somalia.

3. Our estimate could then focus on treaties judged to be of special significance, such as SALT I, SALT II, the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, and the Helsinki Accords. Among the issues we would examine are these:

a. Have the Soviets adhered to their treaty obligations?

b. If not, are their violations blatant or do the experts disagree? In other words, do the Russians pay no attention to treaties or do they nibble around the edges?

• c. Is there any pattern to their conduct?

d. In cases where violations have been uncovered by other treaty signatories--if any--what actions have been taken and how have the Soviets responded?

4. We would conclude with a section on the implications of our findings.

5. At a time when the US is under mounting pressure to reach agreement with the Soviet Union, an estimate that examines the record and its implications would be especially valuable.

Herbert E. Meyer

25X1

CONFIDENTIAL